

Macron and the French Image of Europe

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Macron and the French Image of Europe

Inger Bierschenk¹

Abstract In times of political disorder, exceptional personalities are spreading optimism among the public, which has been disillusioned by various circumstances, such as violence, corruption scandals, and ideological confusion. This study focuses on President Emmanuel Macron, who articulates a vision for Europe aiming at placing France in the forefront. Possible outcomes of such a mission are debated in the media, for example, in the form of lines drawn back to French history, primarily to Napoléon Bonaparte, conqueror and social reformer. In the present study, a statement by Macron about Europe was analysed with Perspective Text Analysis. It is obvious that Macron's orientation and intention are not well matched. The conceptual structure pertaining to the interest of the *Republic* (European outlook) is not in balance with that of the *Nation* (French outlook). For comparison, a similar statement by Napoléon was analysed. Napoléon's orientation and intention are coherent, which makes him a successful doer. Macron comes out as more of a talker.

The newly elected French President Emmanuel Macron has through speech and interviews received an image of being a dynamic person who has given the young European generation hope for the future. It was not least noticed at the EU Summit on November 17, 2017 in Gothenburg, when his participation was followed with great interest from various media. Two young people who had participated in the meeting as observers were interviewed in Swedish radio (the same day), telling about their impressions, which was more about the president's person than about the social issues of the meeting. The discussions had mainly been conducted in smaller groups, and the President gained maximum attention, according to the observers. He entered the room as last person, sat on the edge of his seat and argued intensely as he leaned forward, thus giving an impression of presenting visions. Political visions tend to turn on a younger generation. Moreover, visionary is probably the general impression about him judging by the media reporting so far.

Already in the beginning of the election year, Macron's visionary character was coupled with his seduction ability, which was presented by several media. Schofield (2017) makes an exposition of what has shaped Macron and why the French embrace him, and sums it up as “a sense of specialness that surrounds him”. The key to Macron is what the French call a “grand séducteur”; he quickly learned that his charm could give him what he wanted (Kuper, 2017). The observation that Schofield conveys has to do with something typical French, namely to perform through the words, in Macron's case words that bridge dividing lines, flatter opponents and create devotion among admirers. In the international relations, France's voice changed from being polite and backward leaning to a leading voice thanks to Macron's seductive political rhetoric, which became a unifying force and charmed both the French people and hardened world leaders, according to Gros (2017).

However, after the first hundred days, the insight that the young president is an inexperienced leader seems to sink in. His first “faux pas” concerned a public rebuke of the military chief of staff, who criticized the president's order to cut the military budget. By hitting back with the phrase “Je suis votre chef”, he revealed a side of his personality that some have felt but not previously observed; when his authority is put to the test, he tries to compensate for his lack of experience by taking unpremeditated decisions (Gros, 2017). If Macron needs to claim his leadership, then it will contaminate international relations, which may be negative for France. In addition, France needs a strong military force to fulfil its

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commitments abroad. However, military strength requires a strong economy, and that is something that France lacks. When Macron wants to resemble his presidency with de Gaulle's, he disregards that the economy at that time looked completely different. Now France is the sick man of Europe, Zaretsky (2017) argues.

Gros (2017) further argues that what jeopardizes France's foreign policy does not primarily concern the military but rather lies in Macron's Napoléon complex. There may be several interpretations of such a statement. One is the outer, that is, that he acts socially over-aggressively or dominantly, according to a theory of small-sized people's compensatory behaviour, also called "the short men syndrome" (see the discussion of President Putin in I. Bierschenk, 2017). Another is the inner, that is, even though he has ambitions and visions for both France and Europe, he has difficulty "to roll up his sleeves and get working," like Napoléon, as Green (2017) expresses it.

Emmanuel Macron's ambition to take leadership in a new Europe has been clear from the start. A mission is the restoration of "the grandeur of the presidency" by making it more "Jupiterian" (Bickerton, 2017). These ambitions have been fuelled by the fact that other leading states in the fall and winter of 2017-2018 had problems at home, such as Britain through harsh Brexit negotiations and Germany through prolonged government formation. Wintour (2018), diplomatic editor, discusses Macron's political activities and addresses his intense travels and the symbolic acts with which his diplomacy is spiced up.

The idea behind this so-called "diplomacy of gestures" is Macron's belief that politics must be based on heroism and that such a feeling can be recreated in the population through good stories, according to an interview (Brinkbäumer, Heyer & Sandberg, 2017). To the question why stories are important, he answers through reasoning about the portion of today's youth that is fascinated by extreme movements, because modern democracies do not allow their citizens to dream. Rediscovering the dream of such a thing as "democratic heroism" is something that Macron would like to give to the future generations of Europe.

Importance of an Image

One of the more symbolic travels went to Greece, where the President, at Pnyx, the birthplace of democracy, rhetorically proclaimed the European Union's new foundations against a background of an enlightened Acropolis and an early blue hour in Athens, as the reporter describes the scene (Aswestopoulos, 2017). With this symbolism, he wanted to give the Greeks hope that he, the French President, is the one who guarantees their future in Europe, and it is not just small gestures, they are big symbols, speeches that go straight to the heart of the listener, pictures that remain. One of several analyses of this scene is that Macron wants to open up a new chapter for Europe and write history. "Er weiß genau: Es hat nur ein kleines historisches Fenster", says Meister (2017).

It is not surprising that comparisons between Macron and historical personalities like the Sun King (Louis XIV) and Napoléon are made. Green (2017) presents and discusses the portraits of these three French leaders and the image of themselves that they wanted to convey. Louis XIV, who was a dancer himself, is depicted standing in one of the positions of the now classic ballet (painted by Hyacinthe Rigaud 1701). At the time of the King, the positions belonged to social life and his posture is the fourth position, which is Jupiter's and symbolizes authority and self-confidence.

This was before the French Revolution and the modern society, yet there is at least one feature that Macron has in common with the Sun King and it is the coquetry. It has been reported about his breath-taking cost of makeup (*Le Point*, 2017). John Lichfield, *The Guardian*'s man in Paris, claims that the cost of cosmetics would be reasonable if Macron had been a de Gaulle, who had wished to revive the Olympic conception of the French presidency. However, as Macron does not want to appear particularly often on television, his model of a president is rather the preening monarch than the Olympic Gaullist (Lichfield, 2017).

We get a little closer to modern times through the portrait of Napoléon Bonaparte (made by Jacques-Louis David 1812). He stands in front of his desk, knee bent and weight shifted onto one leg without standing in position, which was now out of fashion. The portrait shows no Jupiter type, says Green, but rather a suffering Prometheus, a hero who sacrificed to humanity. It was demonstrated, among other things, in that he abolished the birth privileges and worked hard. Code Napoléon, placed as a scroll on the desk, and a large floor clock in the background are both symbols for that.

Emmanuel Macron had his official photo published in the summer of 2017 through the Elycée palace. You cannot see his feet, so posture has not been important but you see him straight from the front, and with his hands grabbing the desk edge he wants to symbolize intellectual power. It is also important that he is surrounded by both the French and the EU flag as if they were of equal importance. Other symbols are, for example, that he has a small table clock on the right hand side and wants to send a signal about literary and historical roots. One of the books is Stendhal's *Le Rouge et le Noir*, another is de Gaulle's *Mémoires de Guerre* (Quito & Yanofsky, 2017). The clock means for him that he makes his own decisions on his own terms. By saying that he is the "master of the clocks" in a speech for the media, he believes that he is the one who decides the calendar. The symbolism of God as a watchmaker was already made by Descartes (James, 2017), so the image that Macron conveys is very easy to perceive. One of several who think it is too obvious is Sked (2018), who rejects the British media's delight in him with the words "Macron is all style and no substance".

The image of conveying tradition also appears in the young president's background, which is pronounced French concerning state officials. Emmanuel Jean-Michel Frédéric Macron was born in 1977 in Amiens, where he attended a Jesuit school, and finished his baccalaureate (section science) at the highly renowned Lycée Henri IV. Macron studied philosophy at Paris Nanterre University, completed a Master's of Public Affairs at Sciences Po, and graduated from the École National d'Administration in 2004. He worked at the Inspectorate General of Finances, and later became an investment banker at Rothschild & Cie Banque. Macron was appointed Deputy Secretary General in François Hollande's first government in May 2012. He was appointed Minister of Economy, Industry and Digital Affairs in 2014. In November 2016, Macron quit the government and declared that he would run in the presidential election under the banner of En marche!, a centrist political movement founded in April 2016, and won the election on May 7, 2017. (Facts from fr.wikipedia.org)

Inner Energy

In today's world of false news and alternative facts, one has to ask to what extent the President's official profile, his purposefulness and his relationship-building holds when his statements are examined in more detail. A piece of an interview text, cited in several media, can be seen as key to his visionary ambition. It is taken from an interview in the newspaper *Ouest France* (July 13, 2017).

Mon obsession est de revenir à la racine : l'Europe a été fondée sur une promesse de paix, de progrès, de prospérité. [...] Une Europe qui protège face à la mondialisation et qui prépare un nouveau modèle de société et de croissance.

My obsession is to return to the root: Europe was founded on a promise of peace, progress, prosperity. [...] A Europe that protects against globalization and prepares a new model of society and growth.

The French original text shall now be studied with a method that goes deep into a text and "reveals" the personal style that defines a speaker or writer apart from education and cultural influence. The method is called Perspective Text Analysis and is presented briefly below.

Discovering Inner Energy

Perspective Text Analysis (PTA/Vertex) has been designed to detect the internal dynamics in a text, which does not have a direct connection to the visible surface. The method relates to string theory and the mathematics developed for calculating distances in a space that moves forward and rotates, as well as it has major connections to the discovery of topological phase transitions (see e.g. B. Bierschenk, 1993/2013, 2011; I. Bierschenk, 1989, 1999/2003, 2011; I. Bierschenk & B. Bierschenk, 2004, 2011). The fundamentals of the method are based on the schema-axiom of Kant (B. Bierschenk, 1991, 2018 b), thus operationalized.

The smallest units in this analysis are the graphemes. The analysis creates a protocol of how strings of graphemes are manifested and interwoven in the text building, a process that is invisible when a person speaks or writes. This protocol uncovers the mechanism that shows the gaps in the flow that creates disparities and determines with what the gaps should be filled for the weave to be complete.

A text flows in a time-bound rotating movement and rhythmically. The more elasticity or implicitness, the more space will be created. Two components operate in this space creation movement, namely the Agent [A], which has its position before the verb in the clause, and the Objective [O], which has its position after the verb. These positions are fixed and independent of semantics. Thus, an Agent does not correlate with a person. The two components rotate with and against each other during the entire process, and not until the movement ends, they have performed their task and created the contours of a text space (image), that is, the full textual extension. When this shall be summarized graphically, it is based on the distance between the values, which form a wave. Thereafter, the flow dynamics in the dimensions [A] and [O] may be studied separately, without their mutual dependency being shattered.

Depending on the purpose of the study this phase can be omitted in the presentation or be part of it. In the present case, getting to know the status of the structural energy in the Macron citation is the main goal, so readers are referred to recent publications to take part of the way flow dynamics have been used in related issues (e.g., B. Bierschenk, 2018 a: I. Bierschenk, 2017).

In the next step, it will be a matter of getting a depiction of the intricate structure of the text, which establishes concentrations of information. The result of this more abstract level is called Intention (determined by the Agent) and Orientation (determined by the Objective). Information is calculated by means of Connes's fusion mechanism (Connes, 1994) and is based on the distance between the nodes in the network. Some nodes become thicker than others do and the network thus formed builds up a landscape of mountains and valleys, which can have names like any topographical map. The peaks in such a landscape collect concentrated energy.

Special attention should be payed to the fact that this phase does not contain any interpretation. The names given to the energy clusters, the so-called attractors, are the result of continuous transformations that take place exclusively based on the asymmetrical collaboration of physical and virtual strings. An attractor name occurs temporarily but may return and enter into a new transformation at a later stage in the process. Concepts in this analysis are empirical, temporarily emerged, unlike those formed by classification, which is governed by semantically determined laws.

Orientation in the Macron Citation

The presentation will start with the Orientation, from which the names of the Intention dimension then will be extracted. Figure 1 shows the fusion dynamics and the naming in the Orientation dimension.

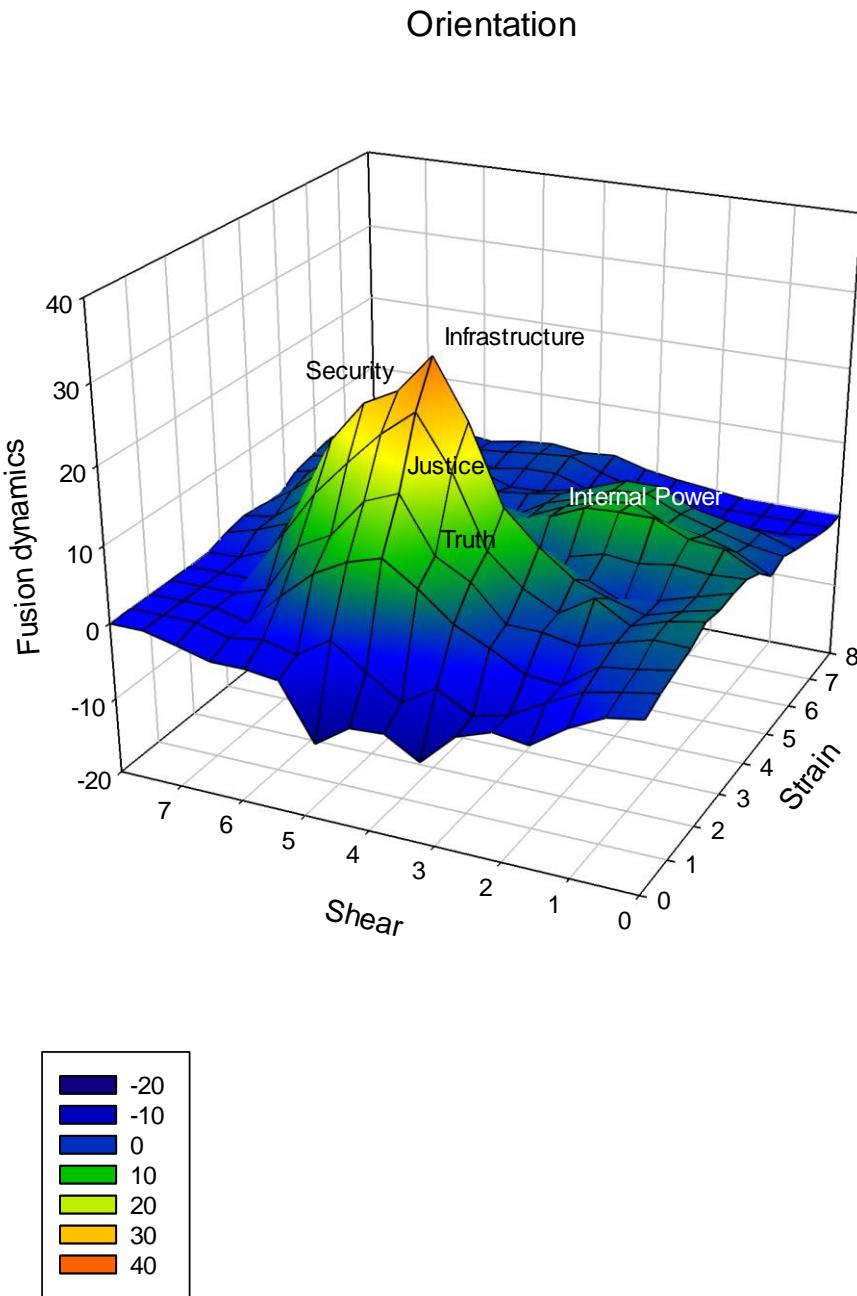


Figure 1 Orientation in Macron citation

This graph is a visualization of the concentrated energy in the text, presented as a landscape formed as a mountain in the foreground and lower hills in the background. A basin dividing them is indicated. Concentrations are mostly marked as sharp peaks or massifs but it is not uncommon for a deep place in the structure to be fused with a very high peak. As we shall see, such an example exists in this structure.

The principle of the fusion mechanism is that two string sequences shall be merged to form something third, a transformation, whose result is immaterial or virtual. The names of the concentrations should reflect this abstract level. This abstraction principle also concerns the single strings. A transformation (T) can be included in a new fusion and an even stronger concentration is formed. Figure 1 is representing the highest concentrations, which should be

regarded as the core of the orientation structure. The presentation will now follow the entire path to give a picture of which transformations underlie this core structure. An English literal translation of the French strings and names is given.

Table 1

Recursive transformations in the naming path

X	Y	Node	Value	Transformation	Translation
0	1	D	0		
1	0	2	6.0372	revenir à la racine	return to the root
1	1	T_1	6.0372		<i>Source</i>
2	0	5	6.1920	fondée sur une promesse	founded on a promise
3	0	6	4.8762	de paix	of peace
3	1	T_2	11.0682		<i>Truce</i>
4	0	7	5.4180	de progrès	of progress
5	0	8	5.9598	de prospérité	of prosperity
5	1	T_3	11.3778		<i>Growth</i>

The first string of the fusion process is paired with a Dummy (D) because the method requires binary values in the transformation process. The name given to the first attractor (T_1) is *Source*. Source indicates a desire to clear away a super-assembly of activities and attitudes to get back to something lost. As a political concept, it can stand for the search for executives who can best represent the interests of the nation, i.e., that the right person is in the right position. In order to promote the development of society, it is important to take advantage of individual skills and special talents. However, the modernity indicated by this kind of change also means that tradition is a strong component. Therefore, several writers observe how Macron exerts his newly won power and ask themselves what source he joins, a Machiavelli, a Bonaparte or a de Gaulle (e.g., Nossiter, 2017).

In the establishment of the second attractor (T_2), the binary condition is fulfilled since two strings are now to be fused into *Truce*. It may be noted that the first string in a pair is always transformed by the second (following) string. The term Truce marks a state where lasting conflicts, races or disagreements between parties have been terminated by agreement. Closing a conflict can be in the interests of both parties if they have a common purpose. Truce may thus constitute potential for various types of agreements, such as partnership and employment contracts. For example, Radio Liberty announced (July 8, 2017) that leaders in Germany, France and Russia agreed that the Minsk agreement to terminate the conflict in Eastern Ukraine should be fully implemented. However, truce in the sense of cease-fire is steadily being violated.

Growth as the third state of attraction (T_3) points to facts that influence European possibilities for Growth by enhancing support for innovations. Actions taken to distribute innovations and to ease productivity are suggestions aimed at decreasing administrative burdens. By revising existing regulation packages, an improved framework for future cross-border affairs is anticipated as well as improved quality assessments. After decades of slow growth, the election of Macron may pull France out of rising unemployment and dwindling competitiveness. With the compromise on the revision of the detached labour directive at the Luxembourg meeting (October 23, 2017), the French president has won “une victoire indéniable”, commented on as “un grand jour pour l’Europe sociale”, (Ducourtieux, 2017).

Instruments to support and unlock the *Potential* within the nation appear to exist, but they may depend on existing skills and financial resources. The policy to meet experienced resource needs must therefore fully recognize environmental diversity and respect national

characteristics, such as the policy developed in, for example, Germany and Sweden. Table 2 gives an example of the case when two trajectories merge. The attractor with the higher index number is always transforming the attractor with the lower index into a new virtual state.

Table 2

Example of merging trajectories and naming of its outcome

3	1	T_2	11.0682		<i>Truce</i>
5	1	T_3	11.3778		<i>Growth</i>
5	2	T_4	22.446		Potential
1	1	T_1	6.0372		<i>Source</i>
5	2	T_4	22.446		Potential
5	3	T_5	28.4882		Internal Power

The resulting **Potential** means that the position at (T_4) implies at present that most of the French government's energy has been spent on the economy and the prospect of a leading French role in the euro area. A stronger French economy in the future would improve the global role of France in a more unified Europe.

At this state in the transformation process, it should be noted that the binding between the attractors is backwards. In this case, attractor (T_5) becomes defined by the Potential that now transforms Source to **Internal Power**. It is about the distribution of national power and its impact on the external affairs of the European Union. Distributing financial resources in accordance with different commitments is a matter of competence. An internal distribution of power is therefore dependent on the individual official's right to act on behalf of the member states. In cooperation with international bodies and organizations, the institutions of the Commission and the individual member states may require the right to act lawfully as a single entity. If members representing the Commission were exempted from the Board of International Organizations, the result would seem to have a limiting effect on the overall influence of the European Union on international affairs, which may lead to conflicting power strategies. One such conflict area is the French labour market. Business leaders say that reform is crucial in restoring French competitiveness, while unions see it as an attack that will not end in truce (Stothard, 2017).

Table 3

A mixture of string transformations and merging trajectories

8	4	9	4.1134	face	front
8	5	10	5.6889	à la mondialisation	of the globalization
7	5	T_6	9.8023		<i>Protectionism</i>
8	8	11	5.8680	prépare un nouveau modèle	prepares a new model
8	7	12	4.9923	de société	of society
7	6	T_7	10.0603		<i>Productivity</i>
7	5	T_6	9.8023		Protectionism
7	6	T_7	10.0603		Productivity
5	6	T_8	19.8626		Sustainability

Protectionism (T_6) is of particular importance because it affects the design of the trade strategy of the European Union and has the potential to harm both its member economies and consumers. At the beginning of the creation of the European Union, the free market was proclaimed with the aim of effectively reducing external barriers and promoting the

development of capital. Unfortunately, the French enforcement of protectionism has led to the fact that industries are required to develop a defensive policy. The example that illustrates this type of action is the French nationalization of a shipyard to block Italians from taking control of a 155-year-old shipbuilder. In addition to being a half-hearted defender for free trade and globalization, the president “perpetuates the old Colbertist streak of looking after France first” (Fenby, 2017).

Productivity (T_7) marks a concentration where the goal is to think in terms of a changing market. As globalization is subject to increased criticism among trade unions and their members, firm economic theories and practices in trade and production follow this trend. One issue for the EU and for the individual member states is to reconcile the decline in productivity with unforeseen obstacles to globalization. The purpose of a modernized society is to invest in knowledge-based capital to raise productivity and living standards. Investing in lifelong key education to maintain high levels of competition is crucial as well as public investment in poor societies to increase the possibility of inclusion for people using their freedom to cross EU borders. However, a question addressed at a European Commission conference in Brussels (June 29-30, 2017) in a time of de-globalization has been to discuss productivity through innovations with less freedom to cross borders.

Sustainability as state attractor (T_8) is marking a social challenge. This clarifies the historical fact that new EU legislation requires big businesses to account for their sustainability. Trading companies should therefore report to the EU on environmental, social and employment issues, as well as human rights, corruption and bribery. The need to report has been acknowledged the key feature for the EU to achieve its growth goals and increase comparability and transparency among companies. In order to maintain its international competitiveness while maintaining its strict standards, the EU is expected to promote and provide resource efficiency in dialogues with non-EU countries. Opposition to the ECJ's supervision easily becomes a striking argument in terms of preserving the rights of EU citizens, regardless of their country of residence.

Table 4
A mixture of string transformations and merging trajectories

4	8	D	0		
5	8	13	5.9985	et de croissance	and of growth
4	7	T_9	5.9985		<i>Adaptation</i>
5	6	T_8	19.8626		Sustainability
4	7	T_9	5.9985		<i>Adaptation</i>
4	6	T_{10}	25.8611		Stabilization
5	3	T_5	28.4882		<i>Internal Power</i>
4	6	T_{10}	25.8611		<i>Stabilization</i>
3	5	T_{11}	54.3443		Infrastructure

Adaptation (T_9) shows a relatively low energy concentration, due to the Dummy (D), aimed at a low investment to make Europe more resistant to climate change. Through a coherent approach, the European Union offers the European Environment Agency (2017) a correct response to the impact of climate change. The EEA also reviews the vulnerability of society to these effects and evaluates the development of adaptation policies. Nevertheless, the success of the Paris International Climate Agreement must be evaluated on solid facts and measured in terms of its impact on the ground at local level. The measures for the adaptation of all member states are promoted and financed with the objective of contributing to build up their decision-making strategies and support their infrastructures. According to the World

Resource Institute, adaptation measures must include the private sector and contain high-level commitments. The challenge is a public financing that is meaningful in terms of magnitude (Martinez-Diaz, 2017).

Stabilization at (T_{10}) is resulting from the influence of Adaptation on Sustainability. In focussing on the role the European Union can play in achieving long-term goals, it should be non-vulnerable to change. Indicator-based forecasts for a changing climate and impact on environmental and social processes support the implementation of national and transnational plans for adaptation strategies. By adopting a coherent strategy and complementary actions for member states activities, support is given for increased coordination and information exchange in order to minimize vulnerability of individual regions or member states. In the euro area, a single partner can be less capable of meeting another's demands, as competitiveness and reforms can be seen as a process rather than as definable goals.

Stabilization (T_{10}) and Internal Power (T_5) are two high-energy attractors whose merged energy has produced **Infrastructure** (T_{11}). It is a transformation that describes assets that are necessary for the functioning of a society and an economy. The European Union has developed an infrastructure protection program (European Program for Critical Infrastructure Protection (EPCIP)). However, disturbances can affect regions and national borders. The purpose of building common tools and approaches is to establish funds to take better into account interdependence between critical infrastructure, industry and state sectors. The grid, transport and information and communication systems are among the nodes whose damage and destruction would have a serious negative impact on safety and well-being.

Table 5

String transformation of a deep structure component on a merged trajectory

3	8	D	0		
2	8	1	0.1292	est (de revenir à la racine)	is (to return to the root)
2	7	T_{12}	0.1292		<i>Strategy</i>
3	5	T_{11}	54.3443		Infrastructure
2	7	T_{12}	0.1292		<i>Strategy</i>
2	5	T_{13}	54.4735		Security

Strategy (T_{12}) appears to have a low energy potential. However, its value is the effect of information redundancy, which is accounted for through radicals, i.e., the root in an exponential equation. This structure refers, besides information redundancy, to an overall policy of an organization consisting of several units, which act on several markets. There must be a method for bringing about a desired future or accomplish a specific goal marshalling resources and forces as efficiently as possible during both peace and war. For the EU, the concern is to structure its accomplishments so that its corporate value is more than the value of its parts. As for the role of France, the president has called for a common strategic culture of a European defence budget and policy, and a joint civil protection force (Chrisafis & Rankin, 2017). Much of the president's expressed visions of EU reforms are, however, low energy concepts, since; as von Radow (2017) explains it, he has "riskante Pläne, aber kaum Verbündete".

Security (T_{13}) is the name of the state that represents a plan that includes the identified assets that are relevant to a member state. The term expresses a risk analysis because major threats can be expected and that each asset is vulnerable. In his many talks about Europe, the French president tries to boost the spirit that once brought the continent together, where security is one of the themes. However, his reform spirit also emphasizes the importance of a well-functioning internal security organization (*Le Parisien* & AFP, 2017). Depending on the functioning of networks and information systems throughout the European Union, operators

must provide security for critical societal and economic activities. High security operators are run on a rigorous quality control, managed with the highest quality.

Table 6
Continued string transformations on deep structure units

0	6	D	0		
0	5	4	-9.0721	été (fondée sur une promesse de paix)	been (founded on a promise of peace)
1	5	T_{14}	-9.0721		<i>Accord</i>
2	5	T_{13}	54.4735		<i>Security</i>
1	5	T_{14}	-9.0721		<i>Accord</i>
2	4	T_{15}	45.4014		Justice

Accord (T_{14}), contrary to *Truce* (T_2), is even deeper integrated in the structure, meaning that its empirical significance is close to the concept of responsibility and personal conviction. Agreements (accords) made by members of a society or larger organizations aim to consolidate goals and strategies of importance to people or entire humanity. Thus, Iran's nuclear agreement can be accompanied by increased dialogue with Iran to ensure a better future for people in the region. The Paris Convention on Climate Change can affect people at a level other than economic and technical when world leaders show responsibility. Following the evacuation operation of the migrant victims in Libya (*Le Huffpost*, 2017), this accord, initiated by President Macron, can contribute to a sense of confidence and trust among the members of the EU, UN and African Union.

Justice (T_{15}) appears as a basic component, intended to protect the citizens of the European Union from international crime and terrorism, and to ensure access to the local justice systems (ECJ). The position implies that the considered institutions encompass the whole judiciary domain. As chief authority of the European Union, the institution is watching over the uniform application and interpretation of its laws and regulations (compare the cases of Hungary and Poland). In particular, the institution has the right and power to resolve legal disputes between its member states and the institutions of the EU and may take actions against its own institutions on behalf of individuals, companies and organisations, whose rights have been infringed by the Commission or by their own government. It should be forbidden for a single member state to overrule the EU court's influence without damaging its free trade and security cooperation with the union.

Table 7
Multiple redundancy in the continued string transformations

0	4	D	0		
0	3	3	-16.2195	a (été fondée sur ...)	has (been founded on ...)
1	3	T_{16}	-16.2195		<i>Foundation</i>
2	4	T_{15}	45.4014		Justice
1	3	T_{16}	-16.2195		<i>Foundation</i>
2	3	T_{17}	29.1819		Truth

The location of *Foundation* (T_{16}) marks the geometric minimum, that is, it relates to the base or groundwork, which underlines its structural importance. The radiation in the term concerns cooperation partly between regions, partly between regions and national levels to improve the implementation of European initiatives. Foundation marks the diversity of laws and

regulations and an attempt to help several European member states to cope with their financial and economic difficulties. Within the member states, a multidisciplinary approach to citizenship will be promoted focusing on individual rights, commitment and trust. However, this major goal has been crashed, for example by the French government through prolonged counter-productive state emergency measures. These measures will limit the freedom of the French citizens (Marshall, 2017) and will do nothing to restrain shocking actions, for example by the police.

Truth (T_{17}) is the final or global state attractor of the configuration. It is deeply engrained in the configuration and its spirit concerns the comprehensive economic trade agreements, which have been signed and are expected to open markets worldwide with positive consequences for spreading European standards and economic interests. All proposals for new European laws are debated, amended and passed (or rejected) by elected national governments and directly elected members of the European Parliament. Nothing is decided directly at the level of the Commission unless all countries have agreed to do so. Even then, national governments agree each piece of legislation. In fact, the European Parliament is much better than national parliaments at rejecting controversial proposals. Finally, the European court has now the power to make political decisions.

Intention in Macron Citation

The terms of the Intention dimension are extracted from the Orientation dimension by means of a pendulum (I. Bierschenk, & B. Bierschenk, 2011, p. 28). The operating principle is based on a mirroring technique (Greene, 1999), which means that Orientation, complementary to Intention is reflected through the extracted terms. They are the descriptors of Intention and have no transformational power. Table 8 shows the principle at work to extract the terms most significant for the description of Intention. Their position in the landscape is presented in Figure 2.

Table 8 Selection of extracted terms from the O-mesh

<i>Intention mesh</i>	<i>Orientation mesh</i>	<i>Extraction</i>	<i>Fusion value</i>
<i>Pendulum</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Terminus</i>	<i>Intention space</i>
$T_3: T_{A2} \rightarrow T_{A1}$	T_{O5}	Internal Power	15.7832
$T_7: T_{A6} \rightarrow T_{A3}$	T_{O4}	Potential	20.3520
$T_{11}: T_{A10} \rightarrow T_{A9}$	T_{O9}	Adaptation	11.7750
$T_{12}: T_{A11} \rightarrow T_{A8}$	T_{O10}	Stabilization	20.6926
$T_{13}: T_{A12} \rightarrow T_{A7}$	T_{O8}	Sustainability	41.0446

In the Orientation, three regions stand out in the landscape, one consisting of *Security* and *Infrastructure*, one of *Justice* and *Truth*, and one of *Internal Power* alone. When these are reflected in the Intention, only *Internal Power* has reoccurred, although in the same region as *Potential*. The incomparably largest weight is given to *Sustainability* as the only concept on the top. *Stabilization* and *Adaptation* have considerably lower weight. The Orientation structure represents *points of view* while the Intention represents *points of observation*. Their distance to one another tells about the perspective of the text. A wide perspective produces a different conceptual structure, while a narrow perspective produces a structure of great similarity. However, an angled relation between concepts is the usual outcome.

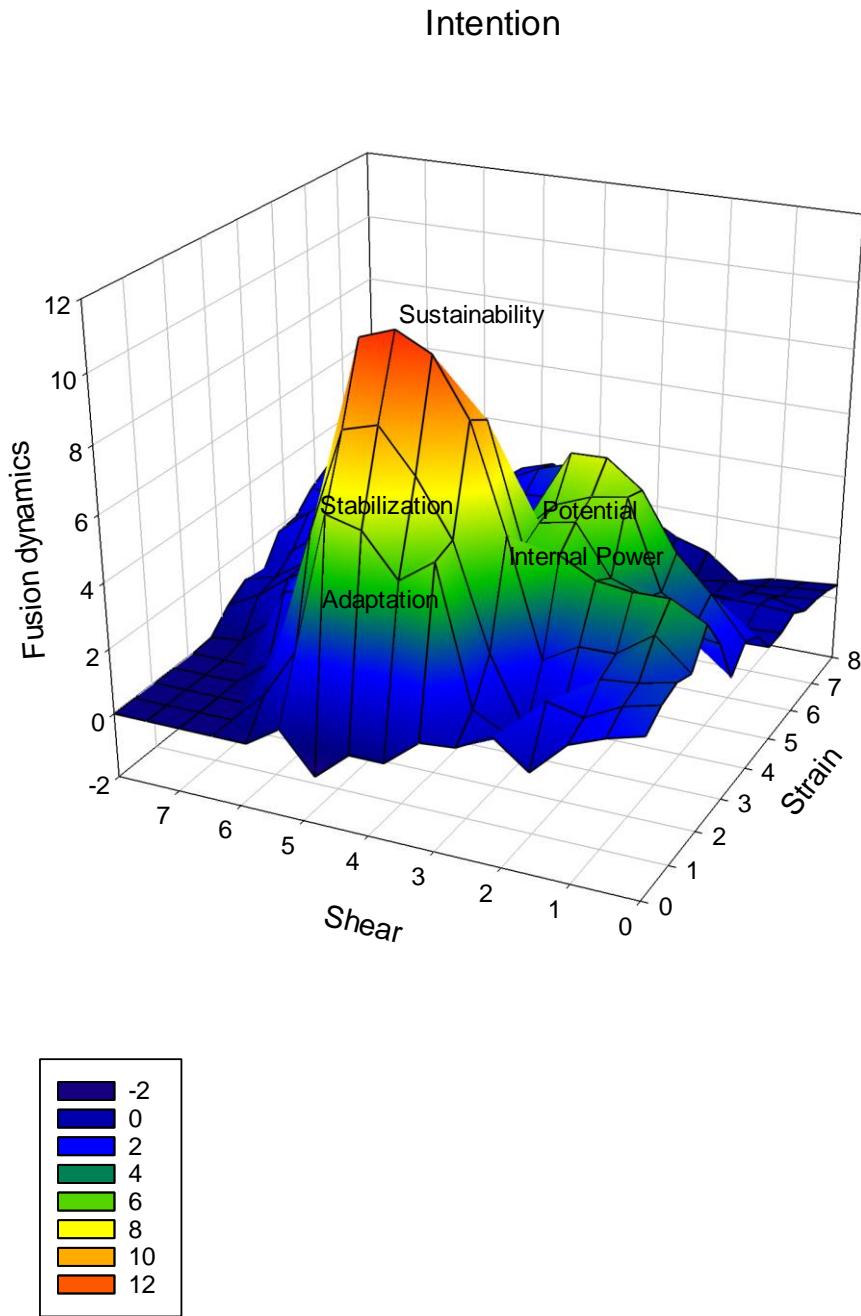


Figure 2 *Intention in Macron citation*

Returning to the Root

During his short time in the political limelight, Emmanuel Macron has been trying to prove the weaknesses of the European Union through the difficulty of the individual Member States to agree on various issues of importance to the Union. Furthermore, he believes that the current EU form is incapable of remedying these shortcomings. Macron, instead, wants to see Europe as a state, which makes unanimous decisions, for example in matters of economy,

immigration and defence. Although appraisers are delighted with his visions and impressed by his intellectualism, it is clear, that his proposals are seen as unrealistic, including being so typical French.

What is typical French? French political thinking distinguishes between nation and state. French identity is motivated not only by territory or heritage but also by belonging to the Republic. The political foundational myth says that the Republic defends Republican and universal values, such as human and civil rights, which, of course overlap with the values of the nation. Macron, however, articulates that he wants to keep the French nation, but it should no longer be sovereign. The sovereignty is proposed to be transferred to European level, which will ensure that the higher values are respected. The Fifth Republic would then be replaced by the Sixth Republic, which will be the first European Republic (Simms & Schade, 2018). It may be the one for which Macron's reform program is statutory. Therefore, Marshall's (2017) remark is alarming, because what happens to the mentioned values when the nation is no longer sovereign? That the Republic is superior is elucidated by the French Presidents' public speech always ending with the phrase "Vive la République, et vive la France!"

With this reasoning in the background, the analysis of the Macron quote can be considered again. There is a lot of evidence that the Orientation structure has mainly gathered aspects that relate to the values represented by the Republic, seen as a state at European level, while the Intention structure has essentially a national perspective. Some concepts are overlapping to their structure. Although the names of the terms are not identical, one has to take into account that their different aspects are interlaced. *Infrastructure* in its transformed Republican meaning is formed by aspects derived from a lower, national level. *Justice* and *Truth* are clear Republican concepts with their focus on law and regulation. *Security* contains aspects of Infrastructure combined with Strategy, which primarily concerns the cross-border level. Security is therefore placed at the Republican side. *Internal Power* exists as overlapping concept.

The Intention structure collects concepts with a slightly different angle. *Internal Power* has here an angle of incidence found in the nearby national *Potential*. The most valuable *Sustainability* should be seen as nationally angled, since it is formed by Protectionism and Productivity. *Stabilization* and *Adaptation* are intertwined with Sustainability in such a way that Stabilization is formed by Adaptation and Sustainability, which means that all three primarily concern the national level. The nationally oriented concepts have a stronger action orientation than the Republican-oriented.

Most of the concepts can thus be attributed to either level: Macron's orientation rests in the conception of the Republic while his driving force is in the French nation. With this way of describing the outcome of the analysis, Macron follows the French tradition in his philosophical political thinking. The typical French is hidden in a more intricate way than the linguistic image provides in a superficial reading of the quote. When the French president talks about a new Europe formed on traditional roots, he refers in fact to the French Republic, based on French nation. This will guarantee Europe a sustainable development. It makes the equal importance of the two flags comprehensible.

It seems as if Emmanuel Macron by his "obsession" would like to give an image of a traditionalist, wanting to have his roots in the Bonapartian era, when France became a conqueror in Europe. The portrait full of symbols associated with Napoléon and the President's pronounced admiration for him as well as some "imperial" manners, such as the use of Versailles in a state of the union speech (Samuel, 2017) and an offensive tactic for getting the opposition out of balance (Nossiter, 2017) are clear signals. The question, however, is whether the president has similarities with Napoléon also in some inner respects. This question is to be studied here.

Napoléon Bonaparte in the Mirror

As a comparison, a quote from Napoléon Bonaparte (1769-1821) will be used. The selected text portion was an utterance in which Napoléon gives an idea of what is needed to govern the world (le monde = Europe), a theme similar to Macron's orientation (*Le Figaro*, 2018):

Il n'y a qu'un secret pour mener le monde, c'est d'être fort, parce qu'il n'y a dans la force ni erreur, ni illusion; c'est le vrai, mis à nu.

There is only one secret to leading the world, it is to be strong, because there is in force neither error nor illusion; it is the truth, laid bare.

As in the case of Macron, the French original has been analysed. Figure 3 displays Orientation and Intention of the Napoléon citation.

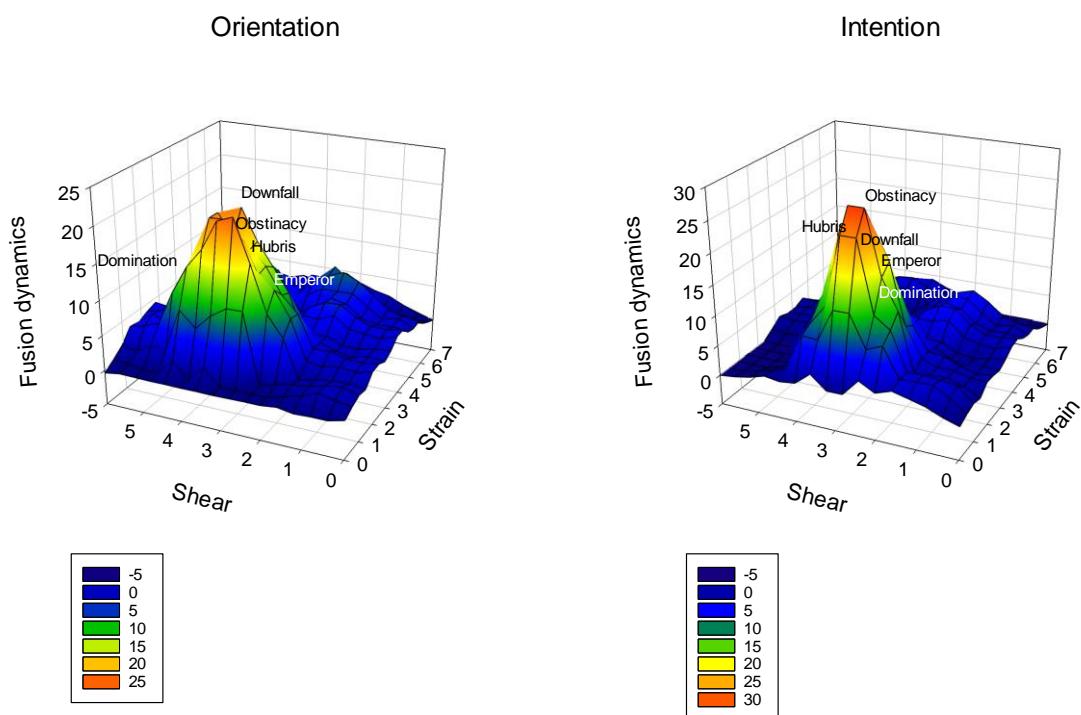


Figure 3 Orientation and Intention in Napoléon citation

Napoléon's Orientation and Intention produce a close relationship between concepts, as all five concepts are reflecting one another in an angled relation. *Downfall* accounts for the fact that the European countries would overthrow Napoléon from power, which is thus the focus here, but which he opposes, expressed by *Obstinacy*. However, he had a magnificent idea of himself, called *Hubris*, and after the exile, he came back and was crowned Emperor, to the disappointment of many Europeans. To the left in the graph, *Domination* expresses the power claim that France had and wanted to practice in Europe.

In the Intention, *Obstinacy* and *Downfall* have changed place, because his driving force was not to obey the will of other Europeans. *Domination* has been angled so that it is close to *Emperor*, indicating that in his newly won role he managed to dominate at least temporarily. Finally, the location of *Hubris* says that this arrogant style dominates the events.

The relation between the points of view and the points of observation in the Napoléon citation shows that the structure works in a coherent way, an indication that the perspective is restricted. The conclusion must be that the text producer takes a dedicated standpoint and that he therefore can be said to control his message mentally. A modern example can be obtained from an analysis of a text uttered by the German chancellor Angela Merkel (B. Bierschenk, 2018 a), who is often mentioned as the ruler of Europe and the most powerful woman in the world. In her utterance, it is obvious that Orientation and Intention work in harmony: of seven concepts, five reoccur in both graphs, and in almost the same relationship.

Emmanuel Macron has shown a strong dedication for reforms, a sign of Napoleonic style of action. However, the mirroring of his conceptual structure reflects that the points of view and the points of observation do not act coherently.

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